1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

spectators had gathered, and on one of these the director threw a little corn meal, bidding him summon the villagers. The throwing of corn meal was the ritual procedure for making any request during the preparations. When the audience arrived, the director announced that in four days he would return to open the basket used at this festival.

The four sub-directors could now go home, but the director was placed by the performance in the state of a man undergoing purification. He returned toward his village, and at some point outside it built a small fire and established his retreat. Here he stayed, except when directing the preparations in the village. He must remain sexually continent, must sleep little, and must keep his fire very small, not even blowing it when he added wood. He used only new dishes, which were made for him by a special woman whose office was hereditary. A male helper, whose office was also hereditary, brought the director his food twice a day and poured it into the dishes on the spot. The food was gruel made of the ancient vegetable foods of the Papago: corn, squash, or the wild crops. It must be poured into the director's dish with great care, since spilling brought illness. The director sat in the position of a man undergoing purification, with head bowed and arms folded. He was expected to stay awake until everyone in the village was asleep.

Four days after the first announcement, the five leaders met again and went to Archie to open the ceremonial basket. This was not a village fetish, but a special property of the ceremony, kept at Archie only because that was the place of meeting. The five seated themselves as before. This time the director-general entered the ceremonial house and brought out the plaited basket in which were kept the turkey feather prayer sticks used for the ceremony, some raw cotton used to represent clouds, and the ten tally sticks, which were placed upright in the Archie ceremonial house after the usual Papago custom. One of them would be removed every night until the eve of the feast arrived. This basket, the director held in his arms "as though it were a baby" and then passed it counterclockwise to the other men, who did the same. This was also the procedure used with baskets containing enemy trophies. After each had held it, the director made a ritual speech, murmuring his words in a rumbling tone "to sound like thunder."

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

I will journey back, and I will attain my desire. Not hard will it be to turn homeward, not hard to reach my land.(5)

This speech was impromptu. The one quoted was made by an informant who had special ambitions to be a runner.

Anegam and Santa Rosa made ritual speeches, those now preserved at Anegam being the most elaborate. On the second night of the journey (the first having ended a forced march), the Anegam crier called his men together.

3. Already has again leaped down [the sun] the gift of God, and shadow covers us. Already has arrived [Coyote] our shining-eyed comrade, our burning-eyed comrade. Around us four times he went, swiftly circling, then he stood still. His shining and his circling seemed of good omen. Then hurry! Gather quickly! Come together! That we may speed our ceremonies.[a](5)

The men seated themselves in a circle with arms folded and heads bowed. Each removed his sandals and tied a buckskin thong around his hair, that it might not blow and cause him to raise his hands, disturbing the meeting. The leader made an introductory speech known as The Heartening.

4. Already has again leaped down [the sun] the shining traveler, and shadow begins to cover us. Already has arrived [Coyote] our shining white comrade and four times around us he went circling. Already has he strengthened our hearts and perfected them; he has strengthened our hands and perfected them; he has strengthened our legs and perfected them. He has done the same for our beasts. He has strengthened their hearts and perfected them; he has strengthened their hands (forelegs) and perfected them; he has strengthened their legs (hind legs) and perfected them.(5)

Then followed the speech known as The Preparation. This is actually a psychological preparation for receiving visions at the ocean. More than that, it is in the nature of a pattern for such visions. A neophyte, even though he completely lacked imagination, could hardly fail, when in a state of exhaustion and with this speech in memory, to imagine the experience expected of him.

[a] In this speech circumlocutions are used instead of the important words "sun" and "coyote." In old days the sun was called the shining traveler, but Christian expressions have crept in.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

he sat at the west, for his third at the north, and only for the fourth could he sit at the east. 223 783

The singers squatted in silence, until finally the guardian took the prayer stick from beside the eagle killer and, holding it in his hand, sang the first song. When he had finished, he passed the prayer stick over the body of the eagle killer, placing it first on his head and then stroking downward over his body. With each stroke, he blew outward, wishing for the eagle killer the same kind of success in life which he himself had had.

He then passed the prayer stick to the man at his right, and so it went counterclockwise around the circle, each man singing four songs and stroking the killer with the prayer stick. Some of the good luck auguries made at this time are quoted from an actual ceremony. 223 783 779

By a deer hunter.

1. Hail! Thus I do to you. Thus you will do in the future. A little way off stands a mountain. You will follow [tracks] around it; you will kill some game; you will feed yourself. Thus do I, as a good hunter, follow my game. I go forth in the morning; I kill my game; I feed myself.(16) 223 783 779 539A

By a runner.

2. Hail! Thus I do to you. You will be like me. I am so fast a runner that if anyone ever catches me I will give him all I have.(16)

By a hunter.

3. Hail! Thus I do to you. Thus you will find yourself doing. Thus I do. The flat land lies stretched out wide. I follow [tracks] across it. I walk and walk. I kill game. I eat it.(16)

When each man in the circle had sung four songs and had performed his act of purification, a cigarette was made by any man who had brought tobacco and was passed counterclockwise, each man receiving it from his neighbor with the kinship term and giving four puffs. The singing then proceeded as before. No one must sleep or go home until morning. Singers might rise and leave the circle, but the eagle killer must remain in position—upright, with legs straight before him, arms folded and head bowed. 223 783 [276] [516]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

the wise man might simply attain his position by the exhibition of good judgment. "If he showed sense, they would listen to him" (8). This is the standard exploit in tales of the orphan boy, who makes a good suggestion in meeting before he is considered old enough to speak. The important factors would seem to have been a man's practical sense and knowledge of traditions.

In the summer village the meeting was held in the Big House: in camp it was in a brush enclosure, or even a cleared space on the ground. The Keeper of the Meeting or the man who was acting as such built a fire in the center of the place to be used, called the people or had them called and sat down facing the east. (In a house or enclosure this would mean opposite the door.)

The wise men, as they arrived, took their places around the fire and the listeners behind them. The crier sat at the right of the Keeper. In villages where there was a speaker to put the leader's proposals the speaker sat at the right and the crier at the left. Some informants thought that each wise man had his allotted place which he occupied during life and which was assigned to a new wise man on his death (14). The same informant thought that the shamans, far from being excluded, had special places, at the north, south, east, and west of the circle, as they do at the drinking ceremony. At present certain prominent men are allowed by custom always to have seats near the Keeper, but there is no other formality.

Some informants thought that the Leg always sat behind the Keeper ready to be sent on errands. Another said that when the meeting was held in a roofless enclosure, the fire was put outside it so as to deceive the Apache. One man then had the duty of running to the fire to bring an ember for lighting the cigarettes. He sat behind the Keeper and was called the peg, that is, the peg with which a hide is fastened down for drying (25).

The proper demeanor in this and all other assemblies was to sit on the heels with arms folded and head bent. The hair should be tied with a thong, so that there would be no disturbing motion of raising the hand to keep it from blowing. It was highly blameworthy to show signs of drowsiness and the offender would have a lighted cigarette thrust between his toes.

The men arrived in silence and when all were seated, the ceremonial cigarette was passed. This was a six inch tube of cane or cornhusk filled, in the earliest days, with wild tobacco. The Keeper lit this or had it lit by an assistant and puffed ceremonially with an invocation, "Now do I breathe out. It will reach you. You will send a benefit" (14). Or, "May he bless me, give me life and lead me along a good road." The power originally referred to was thought

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

him to a mesquite tree far away so that his power would not come near us. He hung his bow and arrows on that tree, and my father sat down under it. So! Do you see? With legs under him and his head on his breast. So our powerful men always sit waiting for a vision. And visions always came to my father.

I did not know
I did not know
And then I knew.

That was what he sang, all alone in the night.

Alas!
Something I know
Clearly I know
I killed an Apache woman
She was crying.

And now light has come to me.

That is the song the Killers have sung since the first one killed an enemy woman. It says that the light has come and told them how to purify themselves.

We did not go near my father. That would have made us sick. And we could not go near my mother in her shelter of branches. But we used to run behind the house and watch when she came out once or twice a day with the sheet over her head so the sun should not see her.

We saw Leaf Buds working all the time making pots. She was a good potter. That was one reason my father had chosen her husband to take care of him, for many bowls are used while a person is being purified. Leaf Buds made new clay bowls, and in one of them she took pinole to my mother, and her husband took another to my father. Every four days the bowl had to be thrown away because it had too much of the power, and she had to have a new one ready. That was the woman who worked hard! She had to make two great jars, new so that they would keep the water cool, and in them she and her husband had to bathe my mother and father every four days. They poured that water over their heads while they sat still, arms folded. It takes a great deal to wash off that power and make it fit to use.

My grandmother bathed us children. She came with the jar at dawn and I ran away around the house. It was cold. She caught me and made me sit facing the west with my arms folded, just like my father. Then she poured it over my head and said: "Now you'll be early rising and industrious. You'll go early for water and wood." She poured it over my brothers

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

PEOPLE ON THE DESERT

Like many other Indians, the Papago are a young people. About 40 per cent of those living on the three reservations in 1942 were under eighteen years of age. The average age of males was twenty-three years and of females twenty-one.[3] 162

Costumes are not so colorful as those of some Arizona and New Mexico tribes such as the Navaho. Most of the older women wear the ankle-length Mother Hubbard cotton dress with loose blouse used by many older Indian and Mexican women in the Southwest and in Sonora. With this they wear a shawl or *rebozo* usually wrapped tightly around the head with an end hanging down the back, rather than loosely draped and allowed to fall over the shoulders. Younger women and girls wear cotton or rayon dresses in contemporary American style. Fiesta dresses are more colorful, and one occasionally sees the brilliant rayons which added splashes of color to gatherings in former years. Males from the age of one to one hundred wear denim or khaki pants with shirts of cotton for work and bright rayon for festive occasions, kerchiefs about the neck, with brimmed felt hats, and cowboy boots if they can possibly afford them. Some of the educated men have American-style "business suits" for trips off the Reservation. Good clothes, particularly shoes, are bought when there is cash on hand, and a man may spend considerable sums on hats and boots. Even in the conservative western districts of the Reservation, the people buy American clothing, often quite "fancy," for the children and young people. Papago believe clothing should be neat, clean, and modest but not necessarily sober; they all want to "look nice" before other people. 291 177

Typically the Papago move with a slow dignity and grace, and only in near-emergency situations does the word "hurry" have any meaning for them. A rider who runs his horse when he is not roping or running cattle is almost certain to elicit the comment, "Oh, he's drunk." 157 516

From early childhood the Papago is taught to be quiet, self-contained, and not to become angry. A reserved person whose equanimity is difficult to shake, he expresses opposition or resentment quietly, for he believes in discussion without argument and angry words. He does not ask direct questions or make statements directly; a question is asked through a circumlocution, and answers are given in the same manner. To white people it sometimes sounds like speech in parables, but to a Papago the meaning is perfectly clear. The curiosity of white people often causes difficulty between them and the Indians. Questioning about unimportant things the Papago regard as rather humorous, but queries about their personal affairs seem to them extremely bad taste. 867 195 [522] 576

3. Population data from United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Program, Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona*; see also chaps. v and vii below.

PLATE VI

United States Indian Service

RESTING BY THE RAMADA OF A WATTLE-AND-DAUB HOUSE
Fireplace is in the right foreground, with squash curls hanging above to dry

[P. 41]

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

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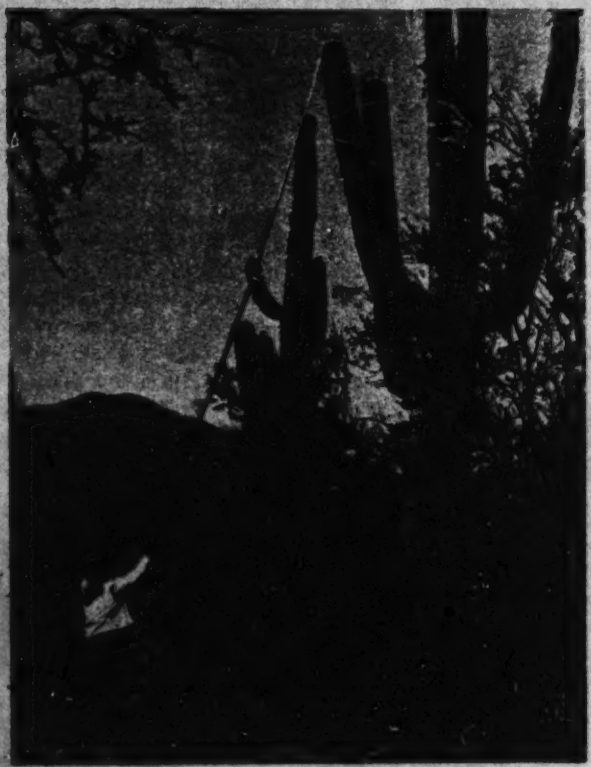
415

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

PLATE IX

222
417
137



Jane Gladey

a) Picking the fruit from the giant saguaro

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Jane Gladey

b) The fruit goes into an oil for cooking

At the Cactus Camp

[p.75]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

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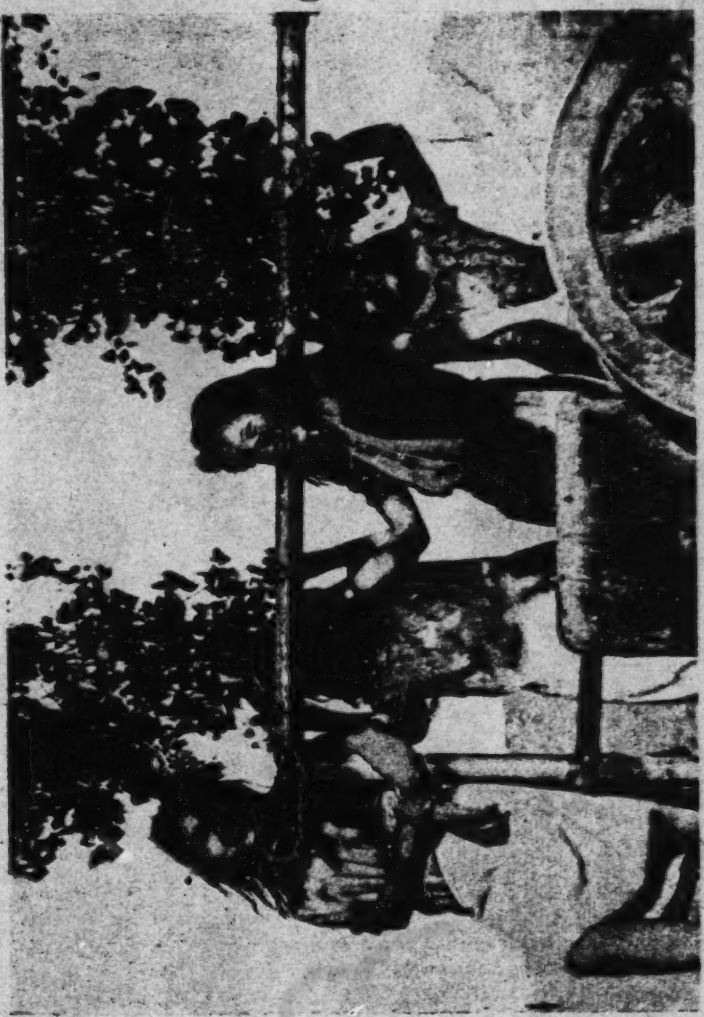
PLATE XIX



YOUNG PAPAGO GIRLS

[p. 158]

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

[883]

Planting among both peoples was a family enterprise done chiefly by the man, assisted by the older children; the wife might help if she were not otherwise engaged. Often this was handled reciprocally, families helping each other, a practice rarely followed today. Díaz[19] stated that the Pima planted in common. He doubtless meant that fields were worked in common under a coöperative plan, not that fields were communally owned.

Aboriginally all crops were planted in hills, never in rows [516] or broadcast. The planter stood in a somewhat stooped position to make holes for the seeds, thrusting the stick forcefully into the moist earth one or more times, depending upon the condition of the ground, and each time pried and jiggled with the stick to loosen the dirt. The surface soil at each hill was never scraped off before digging the hole, as was done regularly by some tribes. Hills were about six inches in diameter and into the center of each he next thrust the stick perpendicularly, turning it in a wide circle to provide a hole for inserting seed. Holes for maize were four to six inches deep regardless of the type of soil, and this same depth was used for several crops. There was no deliberate attempt to loosen soil in the hill to a depth greater than necessary for planting the seeds. When planting corn, the planter, if right handed, next took one step with his left foot and made another hill just like the first at the end of his foot, making the hills about thirty inches apart. After thus digging a number of holes the planter stopped to put in the seeds, which he carried in a leather or woven cloth sack tied around the waist, meanwhile carrying the planting stick in the other hand. Some individuals dug and planted one hole at a time. In any case only a few holes were dug at a time as they dried out quickly. When two persons worked together, one dug the hills, the other dropped and covered the seeds. The planter stooped to about a foot from the ground to drop the seed, making no effort to arrange them in the hole, and im-

[19] *Ibid.*

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

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a, Jose Panes using scraping sticks with basket remainder

b, Severiano Garcia, Harry Encinas, and Jose Panes pounding

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

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a. Preparing to play

b. Conclusion of play

c. Preparing to strike a slain snake

BAMBOO GAME AT SAN XAVIER

[p. 78-A]

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

524
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a. Preparing to play

b. Watching sticks in the air

c. Counting the score

STICK GAME AT SAN XAVIER

[p. 78-B]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

778 said, and they were not in a position to show me; perhaps the makai (medicine-men), who were coming tonight to tell when the rain would arrive, would show me. But to see those things was a risky affair, connected with possibilities of harm to the beholder. As we were returning to camp Pablo said to me: "Probably those Indians never before spoke like that to a white man."

796 The rest of the day was spent in a house to house canvass and many baskets were bought. In the evening Pablo and I again walked over to see the dancing which had commenced anew at dusk. He soon joined the dancers and evidently the "old Adam" reasserted itself within him, for he danced with fervor the whole night.

As one sees everything better by taking part oneself in the proceedings, I, too, broke into the circle, grabbing those next to me by the hand. The orthodox way is to [516] [535] intertwine the fingers as one may see sailors do when they are ashore, or peasant girls of Norway when going to a dance in their finery. My white dress made me a conspicuous object in the dark night, and my dancing and singing evoked merriment among those sitting around. There was no difficulty in getting into the right tune, and my partners on either side, as well as the rest of those actively engaged, were too serious about their work to be distracted.

Just about the time that I entered into the performance, the medicine-men who were sitting with their legs crossed in front of the fire began to show activity. One of them suddenly bent forward and put his mouth near

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

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PICTURE DRAWN BY AN UNTUTORED PAPAGO

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USING THE ANCIENT HOE

MOTHER WITH CHILD IN CRADLE. AKIMEL

[Facing p. 62]

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 four seconds apart. Throughout the afternoon he pulled a stick across
533 a notched and concave piece of wood supported between two of the baskets, in the same tempo. He held the far end of the notched stick firmly against the basket with his left hand, and pulled the other stick toward him with his right. The movements were evenly spaced, but abrupt.

796 The two boys, arms stiff at sides, extended them slightly at one
534 drum beat, and returned them to position at the next. The girls bent a little at the knees at one beat, and straightened at the next. The denim-clad attendant watched over these four like a hawk, correcting the angle at which the girls held the corn, or the boys their bows and arrows, tilting their heads up if they drooped, and wiping their faces carefully with a cloth every few minutes. These four, at intervals of [516] possibly half an hour, were helped to a kneeling position by the attendant, where they remained, heads bowed and eyes closed, for perhaps ten minutes. At the end of this time the attendant carefully helped them to their feet again.

796 The men in white walked up and down at intervals in front of these four, and spectators were seen to walk with them on several occasions. What they or the spectators did we could not find out. Many of the [781] people in the crowd watched these performers in the lean-to with great interest and respect, and the whole atmosphere of this part of the ritual was that of solemnity, in contrast to the clowning of the dancers.

796 During the morning, the chorus carried many different objects, in-
293 cluding several elaborate floats. In addition to the objects carried
532 by the chorus at Anegam, there were red staves about 6' long, with bundles of grass, resembling ears of corn, tied to them at intervals. Similar staves were carried at another time, with the addition of what seemed to be imitation corn tassels on the top of each one. Husked ears of corn were carried at least once. Each of these different objects was carried more than once during the day, notably the "cloud symbols" which were carried at more or less regular intervals.

The first float was a well stuffed deer standing on a stretcher-like framework of poles. The dancers prepared for his appearance with a great hullabaloo and much pantomiming, some crouching and aiming their guns, others pretending to set up blinds of grass, others stalking the deer and hunting for tracks. When the deer appeared, and during the marching, the dancers aimed at it with guns and bows or touched it with lances. The men with guns pretended to place the charges or to clean the barrels with their ram rods. The crowd applauded all this with much excited talk and many jests, answered several times by dancers who ran at the crowd and scattered the onlookers with fierce charging and warlike gestures. The chorus carried tiny bows and arrows painted red, held at the draw, each chorister aiming his arrow upwards to the left.

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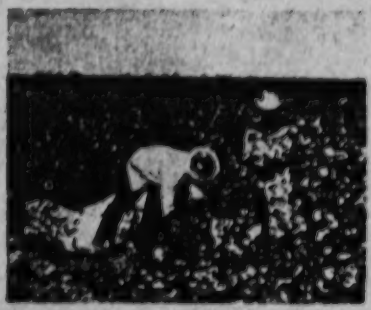
[291]

Picking is two-hand work . . .
you have to move fast . . .



and you have to stoop down low . . .

drink your water out of a barrel . . .

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464
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and climb up high . . .

but the pay is very welcome.

RECRUITING

More Desert people can be expected to pick cotton in 1950 than ever before.

WHY

000 The planters with their acres upon acres of white gold will be alert to recruit any labor available. Arizona's Indians are the only primary rural labor pool [464] not already fully exploited, so growers may be expected to intensify their recruiting on the reservations, especially on the Papago reservations where growers know they can hire good steady workers, often experienced.

464 466 The Desert People are much like foreign workers who are preferred for stoop labor in the Southwest for reasons outlined very well by Carey McWilliams.[1] They are [516] non-white and willing to stoop at their field work, and they generally return to the same job year after year once they have established a satisfactory relationship with a farmer. They are isolated from the general migratory labor pool, and continue to be isolated by their annual return to their reserves, and their ethnic difference from other pickers.

000 Intensified recruiting will probably result in many older people leaving the reserves for the cotton fields for the first time, or the return to the fields of those who may not have worked there recently for one or another reason. Average size of Papago families living in labor camps will increase in 1951, with more pickings per family unit.

Working conditions in the cotton fields will be about the same in 1951 as they were in 1950. There will be more inexperienced contractors and growers whose crews may suffer occasionally for lack of drinking water and other minor inconveniences, but this will not be very serious.

Informal person-to-person contacts between Papagos and prospective employers will suffice the Desert People for 1951--serve them very well in fact. So far as full employment goes, there will be no need for a formal

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[1] McWilliams, 1950, p. 296-297.